

The Management of Monastic Estates: The Evidence of the Typika

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The study of the great estates that acquired a dominant position in the Byzantine countryside from the ninth century on has received the attention of several scholars dealing with the rural economy. The examination of the management of the great estates is essential in understanding how an increasingly important part of the land was exploited. Paul Lemerle, Michel Kaplan, and more recently Jacques Lefort have published studies on the management of great fortunes, using to a greater or lesser extent the information found in typika.¹ Given the lack of sources directly concerning lay or imperial estates, the evidence from monastic sources—that is, archives or typika—has been used to make up for this deficiency. It has been widely assumed that the exploitation of lay and state fortunes resembled in most respects that of monastic fortunes.

This article presents a study of the management of monastic estates from the tenth to the fifteenth century based on the body of the typika contained in the new translation of the texts.² The combination of the information coming from explored and previously unexplored texts permits the building of a relatively comprehensive image of the management of monastic estates. Providing a clearer definition of monastic management has the added interest of helping us distinguish and better understand the management of non-monastic estates and can lead to a more accurate use of the sources. I begin by presenting the typika as sources and then describe the main model of management seen in these texts; I also examine the information on direct and indirect exploitation of the estates; finally, I explore how the revenues were managed and registered.

Monastic typika are certainly the richest source of information on the management of the estates of monasteries. Many texts written by monks who were heads of monasteries reflect the practices used by these establishments to administer their fortunes. Monastic

¹ P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977); M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle. Propriété et exploitation du sol*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 10 (Paris, 1992), esp. chap. 7; idem, "Les moines et leurs biens fonciers à Byzance du VIIIe au Xe siècle: Acquisition, conservation et mise en valeur," *RBén* 1/2, 103 (1993): 209–23; idem, "The Evergetis *Hypotyposis* and the Management of Monastic Estates in the Eleventh Century," in *The Theotokos Evergetis and Eleventh-Century Monasticism*, ed. M. Mullett and A. Kirby (Belfast, 1994), 103–23; J. Lefort, "The Rural Economy, 7th–12th Centuries," in *The Economic History of Byzantium* (Washington, D.C., 2002), 231–310.

² *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero (Washington, D.C., 2001).

typika are also the most important source for the study of the management of great estates in general, whether these were lay or state owned: first, because the founders of the monasteries were very often members of the aristocracy and were certainly aware of and made use of the practices employed in the managing of lay estates; second, because on several occasions the monastery's fortune was nothing more than the continuation of a lay or an imperial fortune. Despite their great value, typika have the drawback of containing mostly regulatory information, which is by definition very general. Information coming from archival evidence supplements and often confirms what we learn from typika, showing how management was actually carried out in certain concrete cases. The greatest part of the information from typika comes from a few texts that contain more or less detailed provisions on management. The majority of the surviving typika say very little or nothing about the management of the estates. When they say anything, it is often laconic or vague. Although practically all founders acknowledge the importance of providing for both the soul and the body, the latter does not seem to get its fair share of attention in most texts. Clearly there was a widespread distaste for the treatment of technical matters in typika. The monks, after all, were not meant to occupy themselves with mundane affairs. This attitude, present throughout the middle and late Byzantine period, often made typika look more like edifying literature than rules for the running of monasteries.

In contrast to this phenomenon, typika including explicit information on management begin to appear with Nikon the Metanoeite at the turn of the eleventh century and Lazaros of Mount Galesion in the middle of that century. However, the first really detailed typikon is that of Attaleiates dating from 1077. It is followed by a number of other detailed typika dating from the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries up to the middle of the fourteenth (Table 1). Detailed typika devote significant space to and are straightforward in the treatment of economic affairs. Beginning with the typikon of Kecharitomene in the early twelfth century they introduce regulations of increased complexity. This phenomenon runs parallel to an increased complexity manifest in the regulation of the management of cash in monasteries (Table 1). This evidence suggests the existence of a greater interest in economic matters in Byzantium—or at least a greater desire to discuss them—as well as the introduction of more elaborate management techniques from the eleventh century on. Although this impression could be partly owing to the fact that relatively few typika survive from the period before the eleventh century, it does tie in well with the image of neglected monastic estates depicted in a novel of Nikephoros Phokas dating from 963/4.³

GENERAL AND LOCAL MANAGEMENT

Beginning with the examination of the main model of management presented in the typika, one may note that the administration of the properties of the monasteries varied considerably depending on the importance and the spread of the possessions, on whether it was a male or a female monastery, and finally on the origin and process of constitution of the fortune. Despite variations in the provisions of different typika, one can establish a

³ N. Svoronos, *Les nouvelles des empereurs macédoniens concernant la terre et les stratiotes* (Athens, 1994), 160.98–109. Cf. P. Lemerle, “Un aspect du rôle des monastères à Byzance: Les monastères donnés à des laïcs, les charistaires,” *Académie des inscriptions, comptes rendus* (1967): 25, in idem, *Le monde de Byzance: Histoire et institutions* (London, 1978); Kaplan, “Les moines et leurs biens fonciers,” 223.

main model of management that was applied to a lesser or greater extent by all monasteries. The principles of the model remained the same throughout the period in question. Table 1 illustrates the geographical spread of the model, attested in many parts of the empire, from Cyprus to Bulgaria and from Sicily to Bithynia.⁴ Information comes mostly from typika containing detailed information. Many other typika that include cursory or random information highlighting only some instances of management affirm the wider adoption of the model or its variations. The main model can be described in the following terms: the management of the estates was divided into general and local administration; at the head of the general administration was the *hegoumenos* or more often the *oikonomos* charged with the supervision of the local managers, that is, the superintendents residing in the estates, whether these were called *metochiarior* or *pronoetai*.⁵ This system was fully developed in the case of important and dispersed fortunes. The greater and more spread out the fortune, the more populous and more complex its management was. In the case of smaller or concentrated fortunes, simpler solutions were applied. The possessions of the houses of Attaleiates and of Kosmosoteira, for example, were managed by a single person answering directly to the head of the monastery.⁶ The typika show that two different versions of this model were used for the management of monastic estates. Without altering the principles of the model these two versions provided for different ways of staffing the administration. In the one version, as seen in the typikon for Lavra,⁷ management was done entirely by monks, while in the other version, witnessed in Kecharitomene for example,⁸ this task was performed by laymen. The version applied in each case seems to have depended on the origin and constitution of the fortune.

In the case of management by monks, the head of the general administration of the estates would be the *hegoumenos* and the *oikonomos*.⁹ The role each one played varied according to each typikon, ranging from a complete absence of an *oikonomos*, where the *hegoumenos* seems to have been the main person responsible for economic management,¹⁰ to an *oikonomos* with extensive powers.¹¹ Usually, the responsibilities were shared, and while nothing was done without the permission of the *hegoumenos*, the *oikonomos* received the greatest burden in the management of the affairs of the monastery.¹² The superinten-

⁴ A number of the typika come from areas that were no longer part of the empire at the time of composition, but the texts themselves lie within the Byzantine tradition.

⁵ Cf. Lefort, "Rural Economy," 293–95.

⁶ The five estates dedicated by Attaleiates to his foundation at Rhaidestos were situated mainly in Thrace; *Attaleiates*, 43.424–45.447, 99.1315–101.1342. Cf. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, 102, 109–10. They were administered by a person chosen by the successors of Attaleiates; *Attaleiates*, 53.580–83. Kosmosoteira had vaster possessions, including thirty villages or estates; however, they were all concentrated in two groups around the Maritsa Delta. The first group of holdings was around Neokastron and the second around Ainos; *Kosmosoteira*, 52.7–53.5. The *episkepsis* of Neokastron should be identified as the domain around the monastery itself, situated about 20 km north of Ainos; cf. *ibid.*, 72.10–12, 24–28. All the estates were administered by a *pronoeteuon*; *ibid.*, 71.15, 72.9.

⁷ *Lavra*, 119.24–120.34, 127.25–35.

⁸ *Kecharitomene*, 55.646–59.706, 63.768–74.

⁹ The *oikonomos* of the main house was often called great (μέγας) *oikonomos*; cf. *Actes d'Iviron*, vol. 2, Archives de l'Athos 16, ed. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomides, and D. Papachryssanthou (Paris, 1990), no. 43 (1085), line 5. Cf. also *Pakourianos*, 107.1461; *Ptochoprodromos*, ed. H. Eideneier (Cologne, 1991), 145.123.

¹⁰ For example in *Eleousa*, 87.18–21 and *Boreine*, 329.30–32, 330.31–39.

¹¹ As in *St. Michael*, 781.20–31.

¹² On the duties of the *hegoumenos* and the *oikonomos* in the management of the estates, cf. Kaplan, "The Management of Monastic Estates," 114–16.

dence and carrying out of the exploitation of the estates were undertaken by monks residing there permanently.¹³ This form of supervision by the monks was sometimes organized into *metochia*, the resident monks being called *metochiarioroi*.¹⁴ The head of the *metochion* would normally be called *oikonomos*. The number of the *metochiarioroi* varied; often only one person, the local *oikonomos*, resided there permanently.¹⁵ Archival evidence permits us to see what these *metochia* looked like. They comprised a church, residences for the monks and the workers, a kitchen, storehouses and stables, possibly a tower and other secondary buildings.¹⁶ Often without fortification, they resembled smaller, more basic monasteries. Other *metochia* were originally independent monasteries that became dependencies of more powerful houses.¹⁷ The monks made efforts to group their properties in order to form integral estates, which would be managed by the *metochion*. The vast majority of acquisitions documented in the monastic archives concern lands adjacent to or very near existing estates.¹⁸

In the case of lay management, the general manager, often also called *oikonomos*, and the superintendents of the estates were hired laymen. The lay *oikonomos* was under the command of the *hegoumenos* or *hegoumene* of the monastery, as in the case of Kecharitomene.¹⁹ In most cases he had a considerable degree of discretion, the role of the superior being mainly to examine his accounts.²⁰ Several typika did not provide for a pure lay management but instituted a hybrid one, most often entrusting the position of the *oikonomos* to a monk or a nun (Table 1). The local superintendents or *pronoetai*,²¹ chosen by the *hegoumenos* or the *oikonomos*,²² lived, like the monks of the *metochia*, in or near the estates of which they were in charge.²³ Archival evidence shows that the centers of the estates managed by lay *pronoetai* were very similar in appearance to the *metochia*.²⁴ *Metochia* would have

¹³ *Lavra*, 127.25–35; *Nikon*, 255.137; *Galesion*, p. 565, chap. 2, lines 53–58; *Messina*, 126.21–26; *Machairas*, 39.10–15. Cf. also the case of the monks of Patmos living on the estates of the monastery in Leipsos and Leros at the end of the 11th century, *MM*, 6:146.12–27.

¹⁴ In the sources the term *metochion* may, depending on the context, refer either to an estate belonging to a monastery or simply to its administrative center; cf. Lefort, “Rural Economy,” 240–41. Here I use the term to denote a center of exploitation of an estate.

¹⁵ Cf. *MM*, 6:146.12–27.

¹⁶ *Actes d'Iviron*, 2: no. 52 (1104), lines 186–93, 228–330, 428–40; cf. Ch. Giros, “Remarques sur l'architecture monastique en Macédoine orientale,” *BCH* 116 (1992): 409–43. Cf. also the description of the *metochia* in *Messina*, 126.21–26.

¹⁷ As in the case of St. Andrew of Peristerai in western Chalkidike which became a dependency of *Lavra* in 964; *Lavra*, 119.24–31.

¹⁸ See, for example, the case of the Lavriote estate of Drymosyrta in the *katepanikion* of Kalamaria; dating presumably from the 11th century, it grew spectacularly during the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century owing to consecutive acquisitions of adjacent lands and estates; *Actes de Lavra*, vol. 4, Archives de l'Athos 11, ed. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, and D. Papachryssanthou (Paris, 1982), 90–92 and map 4.

¹⁹ *Kecharitomene*, 55.647–49, 59.700–702.

²⁰ *Kecharitomene*, 59.691–95.

²¹ While the term *pronoetes* is a rather common one (*Kecharitomene*, 57.665; *Pantokrator*, 113.1430; *Kosmosoteira*, 53.21) other names were also used for the lay superintendents of the estates: *pronoeteuon* (*Kosmosoteira*, 72.9) and *energon* (*Bebaia Elpis*, 48.27). The superintendents of the urban possessions of Kecharitomene were called *oikologoi*; *Kecharitomene*, 57.665.

²² *Kecharitomene*, 79.1069–70; *Pantokrator*, 113.1428–33; *Lips*, 119.23–26.

²³ *Kecharitomene*, 57.688–89; According to Lips, the superintendents could be responsible for one or more estates; *Lips*, 119.23–26.

²⁴ Βυζαντινά έγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου, vol. 2, ed. M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou (Athens, 1980), no. 50 (1073) lines 110–14; *ibid.*, no. 52 (1089), lines 99–107δ.

looked quite different only when they housed significant numbers of monks living there permanently, thus resembling monasteries.

Lay management was very often applied to female monasteries (Table 1). This comes as no surprise since it was normally forbidden for nuns to leave the monastery.²⁵ However, certain typika for female monasteries show a tendency to follow the monastic model as much as possible by using a hybrid system. The typikon for Kecharitomene provided that the *oikonomos*, who at the time was most probably a layman, would in the future be chosen among the eunuch priests residing in the monastery or from outside. His aide (*paroikonomos*), and most probable successor, had to be one of the eunuch priests.²⁶ The later typika of Bebaia Elpis and Baionia go even further, instituting female *oikonomoi* chosen from among the nuns.²⁷ Bebaia Elpis provides that the nun in charge of economic affairs may leave the monastery on some exceptional occasions.²⁸ While the superintendence of the estates of these monasteries had to be entrusted to lay *pronoetai*, in all three cases general administration was essentially monastic.

Interestingly, male monasteries, although not forced to, also followed a system of lay or hybrid management. This was the case of the foundations of Attaleiates,²⁹ of Pantokrator in Constantinople, and of Kosmosoteira in Thrace. The monasteries of Pakourianos and St. Michael³⁰ probably also made use of this system to some extent. The foundation of Pantokrator, which was more of a pious house (*euages oikos*) than a monastery, was endowed largely with imperial estates, which already possessed their own system of management. Its founder, John II Komnenos, clearly wanted his establishment to inherit this system without any alteration. According to the typikon for this monastery, the superintendents of the estates had to be laymen; monks should not be given duties involving a stay outside the monastery.³¹ This stipulation, however, may not have been respected for very long. According to an act from the cartulary of Lembos, a monk from Pantokrator was sent during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos to conduct a survey of an estate of the monastery near Smyrna.³²

The foundation of Kosmosoteira was endowed with what was probably the greater part of the personal fortune of John's brother, the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos. It was not a new fortune; it consisted of properties, most probably of state origin, that had been donated to Isaac by his father, Alexios I Komnenos.³³ Although in the typikon the *hegoumenos* of Kosmosoteira, helped by an *oikonomos*, appears as the main administrator of the mate-

²⁵ Cf. Kaplan, "The Management of Monastic Estates," 118; cf. idem, *Les hommes et la terre*, 310.

²⁶ *Kecharitomene*, 55.649–57.653, 59.702–4, 59.716–20.

²⁷ *Bebaia Elpis*, 48.1–49.12; *Baionia*, 108.32–109.3.

²⁸ *Bebaia Elpis*, 48.16–17.

²⁹ See note 6.

³⁰ Michael VIII Palaiologos, who restored and endowed the monastery of St. Michael (*St. Michael*, 772.9–10), provided that the *oikonomos* was to be chosen from among the monks and that the superintendents of the estates might be either monks or laymen; *St. Michael*, 781.14–31. The permission to use lay *pronoetai* may reflect the state of administration of the estates donated to the monastery, possibly of state origin.

³¹ *Pantokrator*, 63.559–63, 63.569–70. Pantokrator does not mention any general manager visiting the estates regularly to supervise the superintendents; the latter may have reported directly to the *oikonomoi*, who were monks and normally did not leave the monastery; *Pantokrator*, 113.1414–115.1440. The same seems to have held at Bebaia Elpis, where the nun in charge of economic affairs left the monastery only on rare occasions; *Bebaia Elpis*, 48.16–17.

³² MM, 4:187.33–34.

³³ *Kosmosoteira*, 52.7–8.

rial affairs of the monastery and its surroundings,³⁴ the estates would continue to be run by a manager called *pronoeteuon*.³⁵ The *pronoeteuon* is without doubt a relic of the management of the fortune before its dedication to Kosmosoteira. His position in the future is not threatened by any provision of the typikon. However, a certain shift toward management by the monks is visible. Isaac stipulated the creation of two *metochia*: one in Constantinople to be inhabited by three monks, and one in the port of Ainos, one of the two centers of the fortune, ruined in the past by the management of the *pronoetai*.³⁶

Gregory Pakourianos, like Michael Attaleiates and Isaac Komnenos, endowed his foundation with his own fortune.³⁷ He seems to have opted for a monastic general management, stipulating that the two main regions of landholding should be managed by two *epitropoi* chosen from among the fifty monks of Petritzos.³⁸ These *epitropoi* obviously acted as *oikonomoi* supervising the local superintendents. Pakourianos does not say a word, however, about any *metochiaroi*. It is hard to imagine that Pakourianos went so far as to dismantle the entire administrative apparatus of his fortune and that he replaced the experienced *pronoetai* with monks.³⁹ The superintendence of the estates probably continued to be carried out by laymen.

The situation was different in monasteries whose fortunes were not continuations of lay or imperial ones, but were built gradually through the efforts of the monks. The administrative system seems to have developed following the growth of the possessions. To name a few examples, the monasteries of Lavra in the tenth, Evergetis in the eleventh, and Machairas in the thirteenth century follow a pure monastic system of management.⁴⁰ Finally, monasteries that received an important initial endowment consisting of other monasteries and their properties apparently also maintained the monastic system of management. This seems to have been the case of Christ Savior in Messina and of St. Demetrios-Kellibara.⁴¹

Lay founders of monasteries could choose the monks of their houses and certainly tried to place experienced people at their head.⁴² They could have staffed their administrative system entirely with monks. It seems, however, that in most cases they preferred to maintain the preexisting administration, at least on the local level. With the exception of

³⁴ *Kosmosoteira*, 26.34–36, 50.1–5, 51.8–9, 51.19–23 (*hegoumenos*) and 24.31–32, 41.11ff., 67.35–36 (*oikonomos*).

³⁵ *Kosmosoteira*, 72.9. The *pronoeteuon* of Kosmosoteira does not seem to be a local superintendent. He is most probably an *oikonomos* administering all the estates and villages of the monastery; not only because of his title (71.15 τὸν προνοητεύοντα τῶν χωρίων ἡμῶν) but also because he is mentioned in connection with both groups of properties belonging to the monastery; *Kosmosoteira*, 71.15 (group around Ainos), 72.9 (group of Neokastron).

³⁶ *Kosmosoteira*, 70.21–71.2, 53.18–25.

³⁷ *Pakourianos*, 35.257–41.362. Most of these properties probably came from imperial donations; Lemerle, *Cinq études*, 181–82. For the location of these properties, see *ibid.*, 175–81.

³⁸ *Pakourianos*, 59.656–58, 85.1101–87.1115.

³⁹ Cf. the mention of the ex-*pronoetes* Bardanes active in the area of Mosynopolis; *Pakourianos*, 129.1832–33.

⁴⁰ *Lavra*, 119.24–120.34, 127.25–35; *Evergetis*, 49.592–94, 73.1022–23, 75.1061–67; *Machairas*, 37.18–25, 38.16–39.16, 47.24–48.4. The typikon of Machairas prohibited the use of laymen as *metochiaroi*, in exact contrast to the stipulations of the typikon of Pantokrator; *Machairas*, 48.5–7.

⁴¹ *Messina*, 126.21–26, 128.19–130.6. On the endowment of this monastery, see *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 638. *St. Demetrios-Kellibara*, 473.10–474.7.

⁴² Attaleiates, for example, mentions accountants (*logariastai*) among the people that should be preferred as additional recruits; *Attaleiates*, 59.704–8.

female houses, it is probable that in several cases the monks eventually replaced all lay managers. Monastic administration had the advantage of being performed entirely by monks not relying on hired managers, who were sometimes accused of negligence.⁴³ Moreover, the system of *metochia* that sometimes housed small communities probably allowed for better supervision and exploitation of the estates. The monks living in the *metochia* were working to provide food for their brothers, and this was considered a pious occupation.⁴⁴ When they grew old they could expect to retire to the main monastery and be taken care of,⁴⁵ while successful *oikonomoi* of *metochia* could rise in the hierarchy and become *hegoumenoi*.⁴⁶

HOW THE EXPLOITATION OF MONASTIC ESTATES WAS ORGANIZED

We may now turn to how the exploitation of the estates was organized and to the roles of the *oikonomos* and local superintendents. According to the prevailing economic theory, the arable land of the great estates was exploited indirectly, mainly rented out to *paroikoi* who produced primarily cereals. The *paroikoi* paid in return a rent in kind or in cash.⁴⁷ A usually much smaller proportion of the land was exploited directly by the monasteries, mainly through the labor services the *paroikoi* had to perform, but also by the monks and by hired workers.⁴⁸

The typika confirm to a great extent the assumptions regarding the exploitation of the land of great estates. The predominance of indirect exploitation is certain, although the typika have very little to say on the question. Often the information amounts to the simple mention of the *paroikoi* installed on the lands of the monastery.⁴⁹ Besides the leasing of land to *paroikoi*, another way of indirect exploitation, of a much lesser importance was the leasing of the land for short periods for an annual rent.⁵⁰ Attaleiates envisages the leasing for a definite period only of the lands not used for the production of wheat.⁵¹ Finally, the leasing of properties for a rent was a standard way of exploiting urban buildings, such as houses and workshops.⁵²

⁴³ *Kosmosoteira*, 53.21. Cf. P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), 171.

⁴⁴ *Lavra*, 127.25–35.

⁴⁵ Cf. MM, 6:146.12–20.

⁴⁶ As in the case of Ignatios, the brother of Lazaros and *oikonomos* of an estate of Galesion; *Galesion*, p. 575, chap. 2, lines 18–21.

⁴⁷ Rent was paid in cash in the estate of Baris; Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου, vol. 2, no. 50 (1073). In the village of Radolibos, rent was paid mostly in kind; *Actes d'Iviron*, vol. 2, app. 2. Cf. N. Oikonomides, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance, IXe–XIe s.* (Athens, 1996), 125–29, and Lefort, “Rural Economy,” 305–6.

⁴⁸ On the methods of land exploitation, see Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, 343–59; Lefort, “Rural Economy,” 240–43.

⁴⁹ *Evergetis*, 93.1358–62; *Attaleiates*, 77.980–86; *Pakourianos*, 35.253; *Pantokrator*, 119.1494; *Kosmosoteira*, 52.13, 52.22, 52.33, 56.9–19, 58.34–59.5, 66.40–67.20; *Machairas*, 17.3–4. For the monastery of Nikon the Metanoieite, cf. D. Sullivan, *The Life of Saint Nikon* (Brookline, Mass., 1987), 196.29–30, 238.7–8.

⁵⁰ Cf. Lefort, “Rural Economy,” 242–43.

⁵¹ *Attaleiates*, 51.573–79. Attaleiates is most probably referring to twenty-nine-year contracts; see Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, 353–55. These lands, apparently unsuitable for plowing, may have been turned into vineyards by the lessees; cf. the later evidence for such contracts in *Actes de Vatopédi*, vol. 1, Archives de l'Athos 21, ed. J. Bompaire, J. Lefort, V. Kravari, and Ch. Giros (Paris, 2001), no. 32 (1301) and p. 210.

⁵² See the mention of rented buildings (*enoikika*) in *Attaleiates*, 43.433–45.448, 53.590; *Pantokrator*, 115.1455, 119.1489; *Kosmosoteira*, 70.28; *Lips*, 131.20–21.

Most of the information on the exploitation of land comes indirectly from passages regulating the duties of the administrators. With regard to lands rented out to peasants, the attention of the superintendents went mostly to the control of land exploited by each *paroikos* and to the collection of the rent.⁵³ The collection of revenues by the superintendents was supervised by the general administration.⁵⁴ According to Pakourianos, the revenues arrived at the monastery in September.⁵⁵ Many typika refer to revenues both in kind and in cash.⁵⁶ Revenues in kind, mentioned in the typika, come in most cases either from the rent paid by the *paroikoi* or from the lands exploited directly by the monastery. The cash revenues, however, may have come from a variety of sources, such as the annual income of rented buildings and possibly from the income of lands exploited by peasants who paid a rent in cash. But they may also have come from the land tax of *paroikoi*, ceded to the monastery by the state,⁵⁷ or from the sale of products. The superintendents examined whether or not the amount of land the *paroikoi* worked corresponded to their rent. If the *paroikoi* were found to be exploiting more land than that allocated to them, their rent would be raised.⁵⁸ The superintendents, on their own initiative or on that of the landowner, apparently tried to increase the revenues of the monastery by extracting more dues from the peasants. Some typika include passages restricting the increase of the rents and other obligations of the peasants.⁵⁹ The collection of rent was not the only domain in which the superintendents and the *oikonomos* were active. Although not explicitly stated, it is certain that the often-mentioned duty of the *oikonomos* and superintendents to preserve and augment the revenues or to make unproductive lands productive⁶⁰ did not only concern the lands directly exploited. Archival evidence shows that the monks undertook projects of expansion of the land under cultivation, settling peasants, and making land improvements. They may also have provided poor peasants with the equipment necessary for cultivation.⁶¹

The typika give little information as to the arable land that the monastery did not rent out to *paroikoi*. The most certain reference to direct exploitation of arable land is the men-

⁵³ *Lavra*, 127.31–32; *Attaleiates*, 53.581–89; *Kecharitomene*, 57.673; *Kosmosoteira*, 72.8–10.

⁵⁴ *Attaleiates*, 53.587–89; *Kecharitomene*, 57.665, 57.671–75; *Pantokrator*, 63.569–70; *Bebaia Elpis*, 48.25–30.

⁵⁵ *Pakourianos*, 69.835–36. Cf. *Galesion*, p. 585, chap. 2, lines 12–15.

⁵⁶ See, for example, *Nikon*, 255.131–35 (in kind); *Attaleiates*, 27.156–57, 51.575–79 (in kind), 49.518 (in cash), cf. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, 110; *Pakourianos*, 59.668 (in cash), 111.1533–37, 112.1565–67, 112.1570–73 (in kind); *Kecharitomene*, 57.674–80 (in kind and in cash); *Bebaia Elpis*, 48.25–49.10 (in kind and in cash).

⁵⁷ The possessions of Pakourianos, for example, were exempted from the land tax; *Pakourianos*, 129.1820 and *Oikonomides*, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale*, 190–91.

⁵⁸ Cf. *Attaleiates*, 77.984–86. An act from the cartulary of Lembos dating from the late 12th century shows the superintendent (*energon*) of the estates of the Constantinopolitan monastery of Pantokrator in the area of Smyrna verifying the dues of a peasant; it is unclear whether these dues concern the land tax or the rent; *MM*, 4:184.20–185.18.

⁵⁹ *Attaleiates*, 77.980–86; *Kosmosoteira*, 56.9–19, 58.38–59.1.

⁶⁰ *Kecharitomene*, 57.671–74; *St. Michael*, 781.23–25; *Lips*, 120.8–15; *Bebaia Elpis*, 48.29–49.3.

⁶¹ Cf. Lefort, “Rural Economy,” 246 n. 74, 294–95. The superintendents played an active role in the expansion of the estates, making acquisitions on the part of the landowner. One of the *pronoetai* of Pakourianos had personally bought houses and a monastery in the *kastron* of Mosynopolis (*Pakourianos*, 129.1832–33). Documents preserved in monastic archives show similar acquisitions made by the *oikonomoi* of the *metochia*; cf. *Actes d'Iviron*, vol. 1, Archives de l'Athos 14, ed. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomides, and D. Papachryssanthou (Paris, 1985), vol. 1, no. 23 (1017).

tion in some typika of plow teams owned by the monastery.⁶² The typikon of Kosmosoteira provided that the oxen used in the plowing should be led to rest in the monastery's stables by the farmers.⁶³ The typika of Pakourianos and of Boreine indicate the number of plow teams the monastery owned, thus permitting an appreciation of the importance of the land cultivated through their labor. The monastery of Pakourianos had an impressive forty-seven pairs of oxen.⁶⁴ No less remarkable, given the size of its holdings, are the eighteen plow teams possessed by Boreine.⁶⁵ The planting of vineyards, gardens, and groves in the lands surrounding the establishments was a common practice for rural monasteries and *metochia*;⁶⁶ it was also practiced, to a lesser degree, by Constantinopolitan houses.⁶⁷ Of course, in most cases the cultivation of vineyards and gardens in the vicinity of the monasteries must have had a very limited economic significance. While the monks did some gardening and vine tending, it was principally the *paroikoi*⁶⁸ and the hired laymen (*misthioi*)⁶⁹ that led the plow teams, whether these belonged to them or to the monastery. The tending of the herds of the monastery was also undertaken more often by lay shepherds (*psitikoi*) than by monks.⁷⁰

THE MANAGEMENT OF THE PRODUCE

Analysis of the management of the revenues in kind coming from the exploitation of the estates is essential not only for understanding how a monastery provided for its needs but also for finding out how the surplus produce was commercialized. This last point is relevant to the question of the role of monasteries and of great fortunes in general in the Byzantine economy.

The period of the harvest of the crops of lands directly exploited, as well as the collection of rents in kind from the *paroikoi*, was the busiest time of year and required the greatest effort and attention on the part of the superintendents. According to some typika, the general *oikonomos*, or other monks of the monastery, had to visit the estates at that time in order to help with and supervise the gathering of the crops.⁷¹ In many cases the produce

⁶² Attaleiates' restriction of the leasing of wheat fields (*Attaleiates*, 51.573–79) apparently also concerned directly exploited lands; Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, 349–50.

⁶³ *Kosmosoteira*, 68.4–5.

⁶⁴ *Pakourianos*, 125.1761–62; cf. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, 189.

⁶⁵ *Boreine*, 338.3–4, 338.12.

⁶⁶ *Lavra*, 105.23–24, 139.12–13; *Kosmosoteira*, 50.5–6, 51.7–10, 57.35; *Machairas*, 39.11–12; *Boreine*, 337.16–18, 337.21–22; *St. Michael*, 780.28, 781.26; *Menoikion*, 170.15. Nuns also undertook this task; see *Baionia*, 108.16–17.

⁶⁷ *Pantokrator*, 61.543. St. Mamas, located in a less urban area of the capital, near the Xylokerkos gate, had a vineyard and a garden; *St. Mamas*, 277.14. On the location of St. Mamas, see R. Janin, *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. 3. Les églises et les monastères*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1969), 318–19. There is no mention of gardens or vineyards, however, with regard to the female urban monasteries.

⁶⁸ Cf. the mentions of the services the *paroikoi* had to perform: in *Attaleiates*, 77.980–86, and in *Pakourianos*, 35.253, 111.1539–113.1542.

⁶⁹ *Pakourianos*, 99.1336; cf. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, 189; *Christodoulos*, 65.31–34, 74.33, 75.7; *Kosmosoteira*, 50.5–6, 49.26–27; *Machairas*, 38.21, 39.13, 48.5–7. The typikon for Machairas suggests that the hired laymen may have been paid by allowances in kind (*siteresion*). The laymen working for Patmos were fed by the monastery; *Christodoulos*, 86.23–29.

⁷⁰ *Machairas*, 48.5–7; *Boreine*, 338.7.

⁷¹ *Kecharitomene*, 79.1071–72; *Machairas*, 38.23–27. Cf. MM, 6:146.15–27.

would not be transported immediately but would be stored on the estates.⁷² This is clearly stated in the typikon of Kecharitomene, which asks the *oikonomos* to go to the estates to supervise the storing (*synkleismos*) of the produce.⁷³ Grapes may have been made into wine in local winepresses.⁷⁴ Practical reasons may explain this system, for example, the need to keep the crops until shipping was possible. A part of the revenues, in kind and in cash, was retained for local needs (Table 2). The administration of the estates involved certain expenditures.⁷⁵ These would include the seed needed for direct exploitation and allowances and provisions for the *pronoetai* or the *metochiarior*i and hired laymen.⁷⁶ In most cases the local superintendents themselves subtracted the amount of the revenues needed for local expenditures and then shipped the remainder away.⁷⁷ The amount of the regular local expenditure was presumably fixed in advance;⁷⁸ the general administration would decide only on extraordinary expenses.⁷⁹ The typikon of Machairas, however, restricted the control of the *metochiarior*i over the revenues and asked the *oikonomos* to allocate what was necessary for the running of the estate.⁸⁰

Probably the greatest part of the revenues⁸¹ was eventually shipped away, often on ships owned by the monastery.⁸² At least a part of these revenues in kind⁸³ was transported to the main house and was allocated to the different storehouses the monastery possessed:

⁷² Cf. the mention of storehouses and granaries in certain estates; *Messina*, 126.22–24; Βυζαντινά έγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου, vol. 2, no. 52 (1089), line 105.

⁷³ *Kecharitomene*, 79.1071–72; Cf. MM, vol. 6, 146.15–17.

⁷⁴ Cf. the description of the estate of Temenia in Leros, possessing a winepress and an olive press; Βυζαντινά έγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου, vol. 2, no. 52 (1089), line 107γ. Cf. also *Actes d'Iviron*, vol. 3, Archives de l'Athos 18, ed. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomides, D. Papachryssanthou, and V. Kravari (Paris, 1994), 31 and no. 67 (1295), lines 107–8.

⁷⁵ Cf. Βυζαντινά έγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου, vol. 2, no. 50 (1073), lines 316–20, and Lefort, “Rural Economy,” 295–96.

⁷⁶ Machairas, 38.21, 39.10–15. According to the typikon of Pakourianos, certain estates had to make payments in kind to the hostels of the monastery that were situated near them; *Pakourianos*, 111.1530–115.1589.

⁷⁷ This seems to have been, for example, the practice in Lavra and in Kecharitomene; *Lavra*, 127.31–32; *Kecharitomene*, 57.673–80. This procedure was applied on the Athonite estates of the monastery of Iveron at the beginning of the 11th century; some of the necessary provisions for these estates were sent by the main monastery; B. Martin-Hisard, “La Vie de Jean et Euthyme et le statut du monastère des Ibères sur l'Athos,” *REB* 49 (1991): 121.1116–19. Local expenses were apparently subtracted locally also in the case of the imperial estate of Baris that was given to Andronikos Doukas; Βυζαντινά έγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου, vol. 2, no. 50 (1073), lines 316–20. According to the typikon of Pantokrator, all the dependent monasteries should use their revenues to cover their needs and send to the main monastery only the surplus; *Pantokrator*, 1.690–95.

⁷⁸ Cf. Βυζαντινά έγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου, vol. 2, no. 50 (1073), lines 316–20.

⁷⁹ Cf. *Pantokrator*, 113.1428–36.

⁸⁰ *Machairas*, 38.21, 39.10–15. It appears that these payments made by the *oikonomos* to the *metochiarior*i concerned provisions and cash that would be sufficient for longer periods, for months or for a year. The foundation of Nikon in Sparta probably followed the same system; *Nikon*, 255.131–37.

⁸¹ Cf. *Actes d'Iviron*, vol. 2, app. 2 (first decade of 12th century), lines 44–45, and Lefort, “Rural Economy,” 295–96.

⁸² *Kecharitomene*, 57.676–77; Βυζαντινά έγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου, vol. 1, no. 39 (1271), line 8; see also the case of the ship of the Constantinopolitan monastery of Psychosostria that during the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos brought the necessary foodstuffs to the monks; Arkadios Vatopedinos, “Γράμματα τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μονῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς Ψυχωσωστρίας,” *BNJ* 13 (1937): no. 3, lines 168–72. Lavra and Kosmosoteira are also known to have possessed ships; *Actes de Lavra*, vol. 1, Archives de l'Athos 5, ed. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, and N. Svoronos (Paris, 1970), no. 55 (1102); *Christodoulos*, 82.5–13; *Kosmosoteira*, 53.5–7.

⁸³ For the management of cash in Byzantine monasteries, see J. Lefort and K. Smyrlis, “La gestion du numéraire dans les monastères byzantins,” *RN* 153 (1998): 187–215.

granaries, wine cellars, and oil cellars.⁸⁴ These provisions were destined for the internal use of the monastery, that is, the feeding of the monks, the everyday needs of the church, and the charitable distributions at the gate.⁸⁵ The evidence available for provincial as well as for Constantinopolitan houses suggests that, for the greatest part, monasteries must have provided for their needs in basic foodstuffs, such as bread, thanks to the revenues in kind coming from their own estates.⁸⁶ Other provisions, such as olive oil and fresh fish, were bought more readily, especially in the capital.⁸⁷ The needs of a monastery were more or less known in advance, and this permitted the immediate establishment of the surplus products.⁸⁸ Part of the produce of the estates, the importance of which varied according to the importance of the production and needs of each house, was destined for sale.

The typika say very little about the sale of surplus produce. The most probable procedure would be for the entire produce of certain estates, after local expenses, to be transported, on carts⁸⁹ and ships, directly to the closest or most profitable markets.⁹⁰ Such is the case of estate A in Table 2. Other estates may have shipped part of their produce to the monastery and sent the rest for sale (Table 2, estate B). Finally, some estates may have catered exclusively to the main monastery (Table 2, estate C).⁹¹ In the case of produce sent to be sold, the ships would take back to the monastery the proceeds of the sale or other products bought at the market.⁹² This system of produce management and sale was the one that the great Athonite monasteries were asked to follow, as can be seen in the typikon of Monomachos dating from the middle of the eleventh century. What they did in reality went beyond the simple sale of their surplus in order to acquire other necessary products. The same typikon mentioned and prohibited the commercial use of the large and often tax-exempt monastic ships that bought products and sold them in the cities for profit.⁹³

Table 3 illustrates another system of commercialization of the surplus, probable in the case of monasteries situated near major markets. In this case, the produce of the estates may have been taken first to the monastery. After keeping what was necessary, the rest

⁸⁴ See, for example, *Kecharitomene*, 67.865–69.882.

⁸⁵ Cf. *Attaleiates*, 53.602–10.

⁸⁶ See the mentions of revenues in kind arriving at the monastery: *Nikon*, 255.131–37; *Attaleiates*, 27.156–57, 51.575–79; *Kecharitomene*, 57.674–80; *Bebaia Elpis*, 48.25–49.10; and the provisioning of the monastery of Iveron; Martin-Hisard, “*La Vie de Jean et Euthyme*,” 121.1092–98. Cf. the differing opinion of Magdalino who thinks that Constantinopolitan *oikoi* covered their needs in wheat largely through the market; P. Magdalino, “The Grain Supply of Constantinople, Ninth–Twelfth Centuries,” in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland*, ed. C. Mango and G. Dagron (Cambridge, 1995), 35–47.

⁸⁷ Unlike wheat, there are several mentions of the purchase of fish or other edibles to supplement the food offered at the refectory (*prosphagion*). They were bought either by monks individually or by the monastery itself; *Attaleiates*, 69.870–71, cf. 47.497–99; *St. Mamas*, 275.25; Cf. *Ptochoprodromos*, 144.92–93, 145.122, 146.140–41. The typikon of Kosmosoteira mentions the purchase of olive oil and wine, but it is foreseen that in the future the monks may cover their needs in wine by the planting of a vineyard; *Kosmosoteira*, 50.1–7. Purchase of wheat is mentioned in Machairas in relation to a famine; *Machairas*, 13.8–10.

⁸⁸ Cf. *Galesion*, p. 585, chap. 2, lines 12–19, and *Attaleiates*, 53.602–5.

⁸⁹ Cf. Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1853), 201.20, and Magdalino, “Grain Supply,” 40–41.

⁹⁰ Cf. *Actes de Docheiariou*, Archives de l’Athos 13, ed. N. Oikonomides (Paris, 1984), 14.

⁹¹ As in the case of the estates neighboring Iveron at the beginning of the 11th century; Martin-Hisard, “*La Vie de Jean et Euthyme*,” 121.1116–19.

⁹² Cf. *Actes du Prôtaton*, Archives de l’Athos 7, ed. D. Papachryssanthou (Paris, 1975), no. 8 (1045), lines 64–67 and MM, 6:146.27–31.

⁹³ *Actes du Prôtaton*, no. 8 (1045), lines 53–77.

would be sold. In this way the monastery would have served as a storehouse or even a selling point of the surplus produce of the estates. This is probably what Attaleiates was envisaging when he provided that all the revenues of the estates should be gathered in his foundation at the market town of Rhaidestos.⁹⁴ This was certainly the case with one of the products that entered the monastery of Kecharitomene in Constantinople, coming no doubt from the revenues of its estates which were probably scattered all around the Aegean Sea. Since it was clear from the beginning that the needs of the monastery would never exceed 500 pounds of wax, it was stipulated that all the excess produce, estimated to be much more important, should be sold as soon as it entered the monastery.⁹⁵ The case of wax, however, is probably exceptional. Bulkier surplus products may never have physically entered the monastery but may have been stored at storehouses near the market or by the landing stages. The granary owned by the monastery of Lips, situated near the Horaia Gate on the Golden Horn, may have been used as a temporary storage place for the wheat to be sold.⁹⁶ What was left in surplus, after consumption, at the end of the year would either be kept for the following year or presumably be sold.⁹⁷

REGISTRATION AND ACCOUNTING

The administration of monastic estates produced an important number of statements, recording the different amounts of produce at given times. This enabled the administration to have a clear knowledge of the provisions available; it also ensured the transparency of the entire process. The information included in the typika is once again inconsistent. Often registration can only be deduced from the obligation of certain officers to account for their management. The first typikon regulating registration and accounting in detail is that of Attaleiates.

Many typika suggest, explicitly or implicitly, that the amount of the produce collected or harvested should be registered.⁹⁸ Normally this was done by the superintendents, sometimes in the presence of the *oikonomos*, who went out to the estates precisely for this reason.⁹⁹ The part of the revenues destined for local expenses must also have been registered in most cases, although this is mentioned explicitly only in the typikon of Machairas.¹⁰⁰ The registration of revenues and of local expenditure helped prevent embezzlement by the superintendents, an all too common concern of the founders.¹⁰¹ Typika ask that the amount of the produce arriving at the monastery be registered.¹⁰² The produce could be

⁹⁴ Attaleiates, 27.156–57, 53.602–4. Cf. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, 110–11.

⁹⁵ Kecharitomene, 67.845–49.

⁹⁶ Lips, 132.2. The Horaia Gate was situated at the tip of the Akropolis (Saray burnu); R. Guiland, "La chaîne de la Corne d'Or," *Επ.Ετ.Βυζ.Σπ.* 25 (1955): 117. The Golden Horn was at the time the commercial center of Constantinople; N. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople* (Montreal, 1979), 106.

⁹⁷ According to the typikon for the monastery of Lips, the nun in charge of the provisions had to register what was left in excess at the end of the year; Lips, 118.16–17.

⁹⁸ Attaleiates, 53.602–3; Machairas, 38.23–28. Cf. the accounts of the Georgian *oikonomos* of Radolibos, a dependency of Iveron at the beginning of the 12th century; *Actes d'Iviron*, vol. 2, appendix 2.

⁹⁹ Kecharitomene, 79.1071–73; Machairas, 38.23–27.

¹⁰⁰ Machairas, 39.10–15.

¹⁰¹ See, for example, Kecharitomene, 57.673; Menoikion, 167.35–36. Cf. *Geoponica*, ed. H. Beckh (Leipzig, 1895), 79.20–21.

¹⁰² Kecharitomene, 59.703–5; Kosmosoteira, 44.9–14.

received at the monastery directly by the officers responsible for its storage and distribution, such as the cellarer¹⁰³ or the granary steward (*horeiarios*) and the wine steward (*oinochoos*).¹⁰⁴ It could also be received in a centralized fashion, by the *oikonomos* or the cellarer, who would then allocate the produce internally. Kecharitomene's is the first typikon to institute a system of centralized reception,¹⁰⁵ a system that appears in later typika with some frequency.¹⁰⁶ Finally, the officers in charge of storing and dispensing the provisions in the monastery were often required to give account of their management;¹⁰⁷ this meant that they had to keep distribution records. According to the typikon for Lips, the cellarer also had to record at the end of the year what was left of the produce entrusted to her.¹⁰⁸

CONCLUSION

The examination of the evidence from the typika demonstrates the existence of a main model for the management of monastic estates. In spite of the inconsistency of the information, it seems that this model had a very wide application, albeit with occasional variations. The typika also indicate a close relation between the management of lay and imperial estates and that of monastic estates. The distinction was not always clear, as many monasteries employed lay management, a system that seems to have remained in use during the entire period in question. There is, however, a visible tendency for monasteries to replace lay managers with monks.

A final remark concerns the elaboration and complexity in the management techniques witnessed in the typika from the eleventh century on. Typika instructed managers, with growing frequency, not only to guarantee but also to augment the revenues of the estates.¹⁰⁹ Clear division of duties among officials and strict regulation of the management and registration of the produce were geared not only toward assuring the supplies needed to feed the monks but also toward creating and commercializing a surplus.

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¹⁰³ At the beginning of the 11th century, in the monastery of Iveron, foodstuffs were received by the cellarer, who then provisioned the refectory; Martin-Hisard, "La Vie de Jean et Euthyme," 121.1083–98.

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, *Christodoulos*, 75.7–9; *Kosmosoteira*, 44.9–14; *St. Mamas*, 270.32–271.5.

¹⁰⁵ *Kecharitomene*, 67.865–69.882. It seems that the nun responsible for the reception of all foodstuffs (67.865–72) allocated the wine to the *oinochos* and the wheat to the *horeiaria*.

¹⁰⁶ *Machairas*, 39.20–28; *Bebaia Elpis*, 49.3–7. Cf. *St. Michael*, 782.36–783.2.

¹⁰⁷ *Pakourianos*, 107.1461–65; *Areia*, 249.21–23; *Machairas*, 46.19–47.4; *Lips*, 118.6–18.

¹⁰⁸ *Lips*, 118.17–18.

¹⁰⁹ *Kecharitomene*, 57.669–73, 57.689–90; *Kosmosoteira*, 51.7–10, cf. 62.35–39; *St. Michael*, 781.20–25; *Lips*, 120.8–17; *Bebaia Elpis*, 48.29–49.3.

ABBREVIATIONS OF ΤΥΠΙΚΑ

- Areia*: G. A. Choras, 'H "Ἁγία Μονή" Ἀρείας (Athens, 1975), 239–52
- Attaleiates*: P. Gautier, "La diataxis de Michel Attaleiate," *REB* 39 (1981): 5–143
- Baionia*: S. Petrides, "Le typicon de Nil Damilas pour le monastère de femmes de Baeonion en Crète (1400)," *IRAIK* 15 (1911): 92–111
- Bebaia Elpis*: H. Delehay, *Deux typika byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), 18–105
- Boreine*: S. Eustratiades, "Ἡ ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ μονὴ τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Κοτεινῆς," *Ἑλληνικά* 3 (1930): 325–39
- Charseianites*: I. M. Konidares and K. A. Manaphes, "Ἐπιτελεύτιος βούλῃσις καὶ διδασκαλία τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου Ματθαίου Α' (1397–1410)," *Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ.* 45 (1981–82): 462–515
- Christodoulos*: MM, 6:59–90
- Elegmoi*: A. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Kiev, 1895), 715–69
- Eleousa*: L. Petit, "Le monastère de Notre-Dame de Pitié en Macédoine," *IRAIK* 6 (1900): 1–153
- Evergetis*: P. Gautier, "Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis," *REB* 40 (1982): 5–101
- Fragala*: V. von Falkenhausen, "Die Testamente des Abtes Gregor von San Filippo di Fragalà," *HUkSt* 7 (1983): 174–95 (1st testament, 1096/97), and G. Spata, *Le pergamenes greche esistenti nel Grande Archivio di Palermo* (Palermo, 1861), 197–204 (2d testament, 1105), 211–13 (3d testament, 1105)
- Galesion*: AASS, Novembris III, dies septimus (Brussels, 1910), 508–606
- Kecharitomene*: P. Gautier, "Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitōménē," *REB* 43 (1985): 5–165
- Kosmosoteira*: L. Petit, "Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Ænos (1152)," *IRAIK* 13 (1908): 17–77
- Koutlounousi*: *Actes de Kutlunus*, ed. P. Lemerle (Paris, 1988), 113–16 (1st testament), 117–21 (2d testament), 135–38 (3d testament)
- Lavra*: P. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig, 1894), 102–40
- Lips*: H. Delehay, *Deux typika byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), 106–36
- Machairas*: I. Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακά Τυπικά* (Nicosia, 1969), 1–68
- Menoikeion*: *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée*, ed. A. Guillou (Paris, 1955), 161–76
- Messina*: J. Cozza-Luzi, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, vol. 10, pt. 2 (Rome, 1905), 117–37
- Meteora*: N. Bees, "Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων," *Βυζαντίς* 1 (1909): 191–332
- Neophytos*: I. Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακά Τυπικά* (Nicosia, 1969), 71–104
- Nikon*: O. Lampsides, *Ὁ ἐκ Πόντου Ὁσιος Νίκων ὁ Μετανοεῖτε* (Athens, 1982), 250–56
- Pakourianos*: P. Gautier, "Le typikon du Sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos," *REB* 42 (1984): 5–145
- Pantokrator*: P. Gautier, "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *REB* 32 (1974): 1–145
- Sts. Anargyroi*: H. Delehay, *Deux typika byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), 136–40
- St. Demetrios-Kellibara*: H. Grégoire, "Imperatoris Michaelis Palaeologi de Vita sua opusculum necnon Regulae, quam ipse monasterio S. Demetrii praescripsit, fragmentum," *Byzantion* 29/30 (1959–60): 446–76
- St. Mamas*: S. Eustratiades, "Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινπόλει μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Μεγαλομάρτυρος Μάμαντος," *Ἑλληνικά* 1 (1928): 245–314
- St. Michael*: A. Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Kiev, 1895), 769–94
- Tmolos*: T. Drew-Bear and J. Koder, "Ein byzantinisches Kloster am Berg Tmolos," *JÖB* 38 (1988): 197–215
- Xenos*: N. Tomadakes, "Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ ἐρημίτης ἐν Κρήτῃ, 10ος–11ος αἰών," *Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ.* 46 (1983–86): 1–117

TABLE 1 TYPIKA DEALING WITH ESTATE MANAGEMENT

| Monastery | Date of Typikon | Location | Type of Management | Detailed Typikon | Complex Cash Management |
|-------------------------|--------------------|------------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| Lavra | c. 970 | Athos | M | | |
| Tmolos | 975–1000 | Lydia | (L) | | |
| Nikon | after 997 | Lacedaemon | M | | |
| Xenos | 1031 | Crete | (M) | | |
| Galesion | 1053 | Ionia | M | | |
| Evergetis | 1065 | near CP | M | | |
| Attaleiates | 1077 | Thrace-CP | L | + | + |
| Pakourianos | 1083 | Bulgaria | hybrid | + | + |
| Eleousa | 1085–1106 | Macedonia | M | | |
| Christodoulos | 1091–93 | Aegean | (M) | | + |
| Fragala | 1096–1105 | Sicily | M | | |
| Kecharitomene (F) | 1110–16 | CP | hybrid | + | + |
| Pantokrator | 1136 | CP | hybrid | + | |
| Areia/female (F) | 1143 | Argolid | (L) | | |
| Areia/male | 1143 | Argolid | M | | + |
| Messina | before 1149 | Sicily | M | | |
| Kosmosoteira | 1152 | Thrace | hybrid | + | + |
| St. Mamas | 1158 | CP | | | + |
| Elegmoi | 1162 | Bithynia | | | + |
| Machairas | 1210 | Cyprus | M | + | + |
| Neophytos | 1214 | Cyprus | (M) | | |
| Boreine | 1247 | Lydia | M | | |
| St. Michael | 1261–81 | Bithynia | (hybrid) | + | |
| St. Demetrios-Kellibara | 1282/3 | CP-Caria | (M) | | |
| Lips (F) | 1294–1301 | CP | L | + | + |
| Sts. Anargyroi (F) | 1294–1301 | CP | L | | |
| Menoikeion | 1332 | Macedonia | M | | |
| Bebaia Elpis (F) | 1327–35 | CP | hybrid | + | |
| Meteora | 1350–83 | Thessaly | (M) | | |
| Koutloumousi | 1370–78 | Athos | (M) | | |
| Baionia (F) | c. 1400 | Crete | (hybrid) | | |
| Charseianites | 1407 | CP | (M) | | |

Key: F: female monasteries; CP: Constantinople; L: lay; M: monastic; in parentheses: probable type of management

Note: Complex cash management: involving more than one till; see J. Lefort and K. Smyrlis, "La gestion du numéraire dans les monastères byzantins," *RN* 153 (1998): 187–215

TABLE 2 THE MANAGEMENT OF MONASTIC REVENUES IN KIND

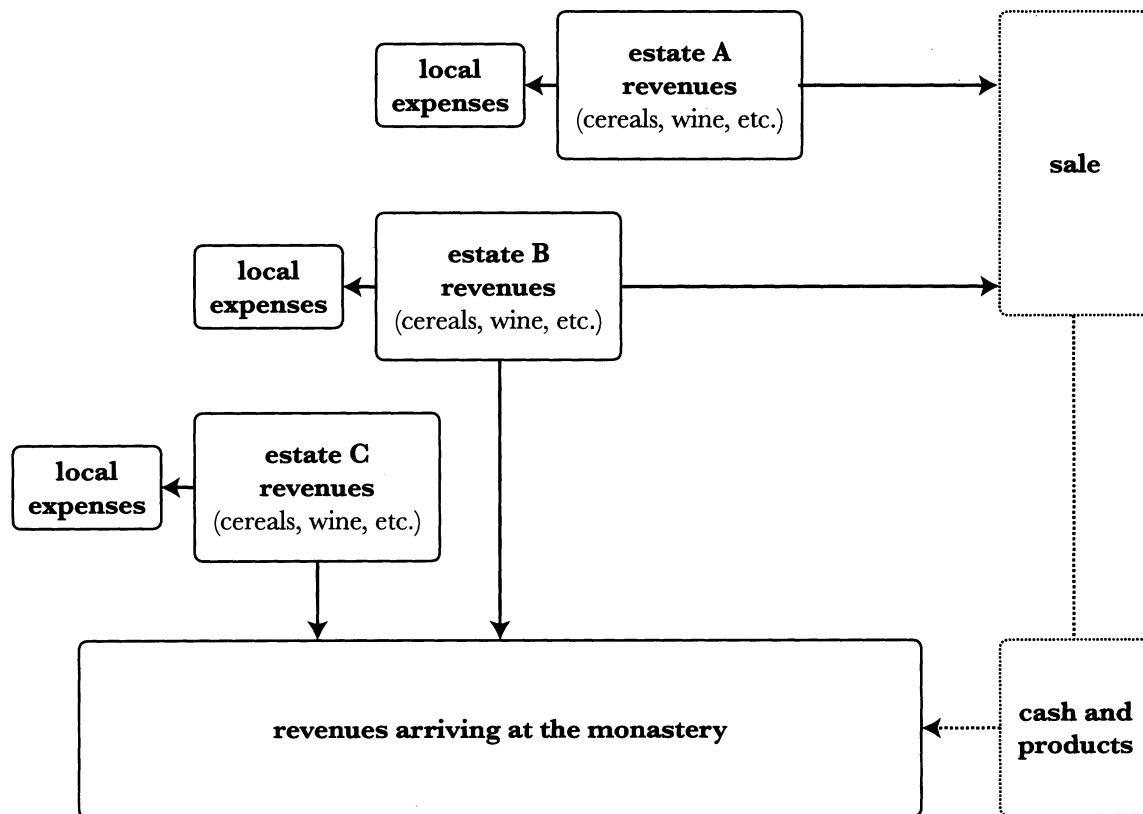


TABLE 3 THE MANAGEMENT OF MONASTIC REVENUES IN KIND:
MONASTERIES NEAR MAJOR MARKETS

